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*Mephibosheth and Ziba:*  
OR, THE  
A P P E A L  
OF THE  
Protestants of Ireland  
TO THE  
K I N G,  
CONCERNING  
The Settlement of that KINGDOM.

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Παθὼν ἐν συμποσίῳ. Plat. in Sympos. ex Hesiod.

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By the Author of the *Hanle Thrown off: Or, The*  
*Irishman Dissected.*

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L I C E N S ' D,

*August the 30th. 1689.*

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L O N D O N,

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P R E F A C E  
TO THE  
R E A D E R.

**I**F we compare our present, with all the Circumstances of our late unhappy condition, by descending to a considerate recollection of those desperate Attempts of Arbitrary Government, to violate our Religion, and the Laws, and to enslave these Kingdoms, by a Despotick Invasion upon our just Rights and Properties: we must either account it the signal effects of a wonderful Providence, or else make our Ingratitude as great a Miracle, as was that of our Deliverance: And as we chiefly owe all to that Divine hand, who by his over-ruling influence disposes of Sublunary Affairs, by turning them which way soever he pleases; so must we subordinately to him, ascribe the present Settlement to his Instrument, and the Restorer of our Peace, his now Sacred Majesty. Now as all good men here must needs express the happiness and Tranquillity they enjoy, by acknowledgments of this nature; so it may be presumed, that his Protestant Subjects of Ireland, are not wanting in a right sense of that affectionate tenderness, and regard for their interest and present condition, which his Majesty has graciously vouch-

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*saved such evincing Demonstrations of. For if the greatness of any danger, does justly require a proportionable estimate upon the Means conducing to a Deliverance from it; then consequently the British Protestants of Ireland are by so much the more obliged unto higher Testimonies of Gratitude, for his Majesty's Princely Endeavours to re-instate them in their Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Possessions, than were those of England, by how much all these were in a greater measure infringed and now actually and totally violated. But as this is a truth, which (by more than bare Arguments of presumption) I fully persuade my self, that no Protestant of that Kingdom, is so insensible of, as to dispute, whatever some unreasonable Male Contents, and Factionous Ill-spirited men, fondly attempt to do, that are Inhabitants of this; yet seeing His Majesty has expressed so much condescension, as to vouchsafe liberty to such of them as are in London, to offer their Reasons in the framing up of a Proclamation of Pardon to the Irish Rebels, it might justly be accounted a betraying as well of their Majesties, as of their own interest, not to endeavour by lawful methods, a just preservation of both.*

*I know it will be difficult for them to avoid a censorious imputation of partiality and prejudice, especially by such as are in the bottom disaffected to them; or rather in the main to the Protestant Cause, how zealously soever they assume the outward shape of it. To this sort of men, the most Candid, and Indifferent representation of the present Insurrection of Ireland, will be looked upon with an evil Eye, and understood as an effect of Self-Interest. Others there are that may misinterpret their Proceedings, not out of a General Disaffection to the British Protestants, but because at this distance it is impossible for them (how intelligent soever in matters of State and Government) to be thoroughly acquainted with the Humour and Genius of the*

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*the Native Irish, of which none (I presume) can be such Competent Judges as those, who have been long conversant in the Country, and have had the Opportunities of inspecting into all their Affairs, and to observe how their bigotted Zeal, their insuperable Cruelty, and aversion to the English, their Natural Inconstancy, and Perfidiousness in the breach of Faith, and the most Sacred and solemn Obligations, which they can possibly lie under, or be engaged in, raised and fomented partly by the vileness of their Tempers, but chiefly by the instigation of their Priests, who are the publick Incendiaries of that Kingdom; and whilst the people are governed by their Arbitrary influence over them, it must happen of course, that such implacable Enemies to the Reformed Religion, will possess their blind and slavish Votaries with a like antipathy, both against it, and its Professors: By which 'tis plain, that if they were well inclined, yet lies it not in their power to be true to the English, the Infallible Dictates of their Priests superseding all other Considerations with them. Not to enumerate their other Qualities, I shall only add their Dexterous Obsequiousness under the Protestant (which has been no small Delusion, and mischief to the too Credulous English) and their insupportable Tyranny and Insolence under their own Government. We usually say, that Experience is the best School-master; and that an Ocular, and Practical, is preferable to a remote and speculative knowledge, which being a Maxim, Non solum dato, sed concessio, as well granted as allowed on all hands, it must needs follow, that the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, are most capable of understanding its proper constitution, and of proposing such Expedients, as may produce the most durable, as well as equal settlement of that Kingdom.*

*I say, equal settlement, because though their Sufferings have been such, as may in Justice demand a Retribution*

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*from the Invaders of their lawful Possessions; yet on the other hand, do the Principles of their Religion, as well as natural Clemency and Compassion (which their Enemies even in the late Reign, could not but acknowledge, how far soever they were from imitating them) restrain them from thoughts of Blood, and from a mutual exercise, and return of the like measures of Severity, which have been shewn to them, their Profession not allowing them any such Latitude, as to do evil that good may come of it; seeing that the Apostle has thought fit to pass Sentence upon that unlawful Practice, so common in, and peculiar to the Church of Rome, by that plain Asseveration, that their Damnation is just.*

*But though both their Religion, and their Natures, carry a powerfull propension in them to acts of Mercy; yet neither (I suppose) will debar them from recovering of their own, by having justice done upon such, as have violently rent it from them; nor will yet hinder them from taking such justifiable, but effectual courses, as may incapacitate their Adversaries to commit the like for the future: And besides the common equity, we may draw the reasonableness of the first of these, from the pungent necessity, which the English are reduced to through the Rapin, and Outrages of the Irish, especially such whose substance consisted chiefly in Personal Estates, for which if they should have no compensation from their injurers, such, by consequence, must (notwithstanding the reduction of that Kingdom) remain in a miserable, and distressed, who liv'd formerly in a very opulent, and comfortable condition: And then as to others who have real Estates to return to, (tho' they have likewise incurred great losses in their Stock, &c.) yet I perswade my self, that there are hardly any of them, but would desire to be divested of both, and to continue in their present Exile, under all the hardships of an indigent and mean Estate, rather than return to their own  
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*with the conditions of a General Pardon, and Indemnity to the Irish; who are so naturally, I had almost said essentially prone to Rebellion, as to grasp at the next opportunity, which must needs end in the inevitable ruine, and final Extirpation of the British.*

*A serious Consideration upon all which, has by a natural Sympathy to my distressed Countrey-men, as well as out of an hearty Zeal to Religion, and a due regard to the preservation of the Protestant Interest, incited me to commit the following Sheets to publick view: for which boldness, I could expect no pardon, if a matter of so universal a nature, as is the settlement of a Nation, did not with all Candid and Judicious men, give a great allowance to the infirmities of so honest a design. And tho' I heartily wish, that some more accurate Pen would undertake the Subject, the neglect whereof seems to be an unpardonable omission in those, whose Learning and Parts entitle them to an ingenious defence both of themselves, and others in that Kingdom; yet their silence in a juncture, and upon an occasion, which so nearly concerns them, if they have a due regard to their Religion, and to a firm and lasting settlement of their Country, made me choose rather to say something, tho' impertinently, than to be wanting altogether to the maintenance of so good a Cause, wherein men of Learned Education, and of a great interest in that Kingdom, are unaccountably defective; excepting that Ingenious Gentleman Colonel Phillips, to whose Character and Vindication of Ireland, that Nation stands infinitely indebted. Another reason to the former, is, in pursuance to a Letter dated from Tunbridge, and writ to a Friend in London upon this occasion, wherein I promised a larger Discourse; and to make my word good, have adventured upon the following Tract; in which the Reader will find the substance of that Letter, together with many other ample, and additional Improvements, the design whereof (to represent it in a*

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word)

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*word) is to shew how improper it is to vouchsafe a Pardon to the Nobility and Gentry of the Irish Papists, in order to reduce the Populace to Obedience; but that the quite contrary, is the best method, as well for a safe and durable, as for a ready and expeditious Conquest of that Kingdom, &c. But I will detain you no longer in the Porch, but send you to the Main Work in the ensuing Relation.*

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MEPHIBOSHETH & ZIBA,  
 OR, THE  
 APPEAL of the Protestants of IRELAND  
 TO THE  
 KING, &c.

OF such dismal and amazing consequence, to the *British Protestants*, have been those frequent Revolutions in the Government of *Ireland*, occasion'd by the constant Rebellions and vile Perfidiousness of the *Natives*; but more especially the two last *Scenes*, of Forty One, and the present deplorable juncture, have offer'd to the World so black and odious a Representation of their unparallel'd Barbarity and Insolence, as gives occasion of wonder at the present proceedings, as to the framing of a Proclamation for their Pardon. It is difficult indeed to imagine that those men who have committed so publick a Devastation in that lamentable Kingdom, been so inhumanly injurious to their kind and too indulgent Neighbours, the *English*; as to divest those of their Substance and Estates, who were formerly the chief Instru-

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of their Support ; nay more, which are immers'd in Protestant Blood, should (after all their repeated Violences and horrid Outrages) be kindly and amicably treated by those whom they bear an utter abhorrence and detestation to. This (though design'd as an effect of transcendent Mercy) is a most insuperable Grievance to the Protestants of that Kingdom, and not to them peculiarly, but to *England* also, if rightly and duly reflected upon.

But that this is not *gratis dictum*, I shall endeavour to evince by the sequel of this Discourse, by asserting, That so unaccountable has the *Antipathy* of the *Irish* ever been towards the *English*, that those commonly inviolable Bonds both of *Religion* and *Interest*, (which we find so operative in other Nations) and with which they were link'd together, were not able to overcome it.

That even when the *English* were earnestly supplicated by their own Kings, to vouchsafe their assistance, and presented them with Victory over their Enemies and Competitors ; yet at the same time, by such a monstrous Ingratitude, (as 'tis hard to conceive humane Nature to be guilty of) were barbarously assassinated by those *Savages*, to whom they had procured Deliverance.

But a better instance cannot be given of that radical and unalterable Prejudice, which they bear towards the *English*, than its continuance by an uninterrupted hereditary Succession or lineal Descent from *Father* to *Son*, ever since the first footing of the *British* in that Kingdom ; and therefore, as a terrour to their Children, when they would frighten them, they are wont to use this *Irish* expression, *Boot-a-Safoneught* ; the meaning whereof is, That the *English* are coming ; by which means their Children

*suck*

suck in, together with their Milk, a natural aversion to them. So essentially true is that expression, *Odiunt quos metuunt*: Those whom Men fear, such they hate; humane Nature being impatient under Superiors, and by a powerful instinct of self-love, apt to convert their esteem of, into hatred against such persons whom they are not able to govern and controul; but rather whose high Power and Interest they look upon as dangerous to the repose both of themselves and others. And as this Principle is true in it self, so has it been carefully instill'd by the *Irish Parents*, into their Children, industriously cherishing and improving all the outward symptoms of their dislike to the *Interest and Government* of the *English*; against which, as they use their utmost endeavours to embitter and prepossess them, so are their *Priests* as active to sowre and corrupt their Judgments, with wild and terrifying notions of the Falshood and Heresie of the *Protestant Religion*; pronouncing the severest *Anathemas* of eternal Condemnation to all that profess it, and representing to them, That they are without the *Pale* of the Church, and to be treated as common Enemies to the *Faith*: That they are no other wise to be accounted of than as Dogs and Castaways, or a sort of infernal Spirits, which are sent into their Country, to inflict a punishment upon their Bodies, and for a trial of their Constancy in the Religion of the Holy Church: But that God will in his due time give them the victory over them, and that then they will do God good Service that are most instrumental in their destruction. These daily and repeated suggestions of the Priests, which operate upon their *Votaries* by a lasting and deep Impression, have (together with the *leaven'd* Principles of a byas'd and partial Education derived from their Parents) established such a *fundamental* hatred in their  
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minds against any thing that bears the *Stamp of English*, that whenever by their Rebellion they wrested the *Reins* of Government from them, their implacable rage did not only extend to their innocent persons, but to every *Vegetative* and *Inanimate Substance* that bore but the Characters of their Improvement. And to me it seems an unparallel'd instance of an irreconcilable inveteracy, thus to destroy the flourishing effects of the English Industry, when no other way remain'd of executing their inhumane fury, tho' at the same time they thereby defac'd the beauty and ornaments of their Country, and consequently acted diametrically contrary to their own true Interest.

But, alas! this aversion was so deeply rooted by the aforesaid Artifices, consisting in the Education of their *Parents*, and Instructions of their *Priests*, that no acts of Clemency or Indulgence were ever found capable to prevail with them to adhere faithfully to the Government and Crown of *England*; no, not the highest Titles of Honour or Dignity; not their Matrimonial Alliances with the English; not the largest Privileges or Immunities from the Crown; not the greatest places of Trust, or most weighty Employments in the *State*; not the highest opportunities of Advantage, or of secular profit: and in fine, not any Encouragements which were either in the power of the *English* to bestow, or of them to accept, could induce them to extinguish that Hatred in their *Breasts*, which upon all inviting occasions they executed upon the *Protestants*, trampling upon all their Obligations and Civilities by a most horrid Ingratitude and an insolent Contempt; and that *Humanity*, which in the very Breast of a *Cannibal* would claim some Power, seem'd so quite eras'd out of their *Hearts* in all their outrages towards

wards the *English*, as if their *Cruelties* had quite *unmann'd* them, and (as it were) sunk their *erect* into a *savage Shape* of *Wolves* and *Tigers*.

Indeed, the gratifying of their *Lusts* was oftentimes of that prevalence with their *Grandees*, that to answer their importunity they were necessitated to enter into *Marriage* with *English Families*, in whose beauty and humour, though 'twas impossible for them not to manifest very great *Complacency*; yet were not their *Amours* to the Children sufficient to restrain their *Barbarity* from the Parents: an instance as unnatural to others, as peculiar to these *Monsters*; and should I undertake to enumerate the *Tragedies* committed by them, upon such whose near *Relations* they had taken to their own *Beds*, all Mankind must needs consider their unequal'd inhumanity with horror and amazement. But I refer the Reader to the *History of Ireland*, where he may meet with an abundant variety of places to this purpose, together with those various *Tragick Scenes* of such bloody *Massacres* and impious *Assassinations*, as no *Story* can parallel for the matter, nor *Satan* himself contrive more *Butcherly Arts* in the manner of their execution. But I shall not insist longer upon these things, which are but too lively *imprinted* in the *Memories* of the *Irish Protestant Sufferers*; but rather proceed to my present design, which is to shew,

That *Pardon* and *Lenity* to them, however it carries the face of *Mercy*, is yet in reality the contrary.

And in the second place, That it will not attain the end design'd, the more easie reduction of that Kingdom.

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In relation to the first of these, it is to be consider'd, That *Mercy*, in its true and genuine importance, is a Work of Deliverance and Preservation, and wheresoever it is vouchsafed, a chief regard is to be had to the *Security* of Men's *Rights* and *Interests*. Now 'tis plain, That pardoning of the *Irish* cannot be capable of any such Interpretation, unless it be granted, That the *British* of *Ireland* have been *Ultrpers* of their *Rights*.

'Tis but too apparent, That the present *Insurrection* of *Ireland* has wasted and destroyed the whole Kingdom; That thousands of the *English* have either become *Sacrifices* to the Rage and Cruelty of the Natives, or else have perish'd by Famine or other Disasters. If then it be demanded, Who were the *Agents* of this publick Mischief and Calamity? Was not all of it transacted by the *Irish*? That is a Truth which admits of no dispute. But if it be again ask'd, Were not the Natives irritated thereunto by provocations receiv'd from the *English*? This indeed may be controverted by some who are *Foreigners* to the State of that Kingdom; and therefore I think it fit to return an Answer to that Objection, by taking a short Survey of the late Condition of *Ireland*, immediately before this universal Devastation committed by the *Papists*.

*Tyrconnel* was seated at the Helm, a bitter and implacable Enemy to the *British Protestants*.

The *Militia*, all compos'd of *English*, had for a considerable time before been disarmed.

The standing Army, made up of *English* Souldiery, disbanded; and *Irish*, both *Officers* and *private Souldiers*, preferr'd to their places.

The *Corporations* divested of their old *Charters*, and then new modell'd by turning out the *Protestants*.

*stants*, and placing *Natives* of the Kingdom in the Magistracy and Government of them.

*Papists* made Judges, put into the Commission of the Peace, constituted *Sheriffs*, *Coroners*, *Constables*, &c. throughout the whole Kingdom.

The *Protestant Clergy* disturbed in their *Ministry*, and the discharge of their sacred Function.

Many of the poorer sort of *Protestants* practis'd upon by various Arts of the *Popish Priests*, and thereby seduc'd from their Religion, and turn'd *Papists*.

The Houses of the Sick invaded both by *Seculars* and *Regulars*, who would violently shut the *Protestants* doors against their own *Ministers*, and by a Thousand impious contrivances and unheard-of Machinations, so menace and terrifie them with the thoughts of *Damnation* to those of their Religion, as forced them in the agonies of Death to renounce the Principles of their Faith; or at least the *Priests* pretended that they did so, and that they came off *Conquerors*, the known and apparent refusal of many notwithstanding.

This transient Prospect of Affairs does sufficiently discover to us, That the *Irish* were under no hard or severe circumstances from the *Protestants*, and far from standing in awe of them, who (now that the course of things was so manifestly inverted) were become their *Masters*, instead of that of their *Slaves* and *Vassals*.

But perhaps it may be urged, That the *Protestants* were for espousing the Interest of King *William*, then Prince of *Orange*: And indeed, 'twas reasonably to be supposed, that all persons who had any valuable regard for their Religion, or to the retrieving of the Laws and Constitutions of the Land, were strongly inclined to favour and assist in so good

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and advantageous a *Design*. But then, alas! the *English* were in no capacity of putting their good Wishes in execution: They had been disarm'd, and thereby divested of all ability whereby to make any considerable defence, or to provide for their *Security*: Besides, they were under a strict Guard from their Enemies, who had all the power and strength of the Kingdom in their hands, and kept a vigilant and an attentive eye upon all their actions: which kept the *English* so much in subjection, and was so great a discouragement unto them, that hardly any attempted to declare for the *Prince*, till *February*; whereas most of the Rapin and Devastation was committed before.

This compendious description of Affairs will (I presume) be deem'd sufficient to satisfy all judicious and impartial men, that without the least provocation or plausible pretence of Right, the *Irish Papists* have acted the late *Massacres*, *Burnings*, and other publick Mischiefs and Calamities upon the *Protestants* of *Ireland*: which if they had been mutual and reciprocal injuries, though they that were in a good *Cause*, would have been Sufferers for their Loyalty and Service to the King; yet on the other hand, there might have been room for the King's Mercy. But where the inveteracy of a malicious Antagonist discharged it self in whole Volleys upon a quiet and inoffensive People, without any other inducement than that of a bare Surmise, that they were inwardly affected to King *William*; seems as irrational and unjustifiable an Argument for those violent *Outrages* committed thereupon; as 'tis happily, without *Precedent* (if duly reflected upon in all its circumstances and respects) that men so *habituated* to Rebellion, and profess'd Enemies to the

*Protestant Interest and Religion*, should have a Pardon vouchsafed unto them.

I now proceed to shew, That a Pardon to the Irish cannot properly be interpreted an effect of *Mercy*, but in reality the contrary.

To illustrate this to you, I think it reasonable to affirm, That that cannot be accounted an effect of *Mercy*, which is extended to such Criminals as have invaded and usurped the *Rights and Properties* of others; which is consequent to my first Position, That *Mercy* is to be confin'd within the Boundaries of common *Right*: and if this were not so, such as live most obedient to the Government, could expect no Security from it; which would be a *Practice* as disagreeable to the first *Institution* of Government in the World, as 'tis contrary to *Nature* and the common Reason of Mankind. Besides, by this means no Government could long subsist, because it must necessarily encourage such men as openly violate and condemn its Injunctions; and by consequence, such as most trample upon, must possess the places of *Judicature*, and the greatest *Offenders* become *prime Ministers* of State.

But to encounter this Argument more closely, 'Tis a *Maxim* receiv'd among *Princes*, To manage with a steady and equal hand in Affairs of State, and in consequence hereunto a general Pardon is reckon'd to be a *mutual* Good. But in pursuance to this (I presume) it will be granted, that such as have adher'd to the Interest of King *William*, and consequently have, upon all occasions, demonstrated their Zeal and Sincerity for the *Protestant Cause and Religion*, may reasonably put in as just a claim to his Mercy, as such who have declared their Enmity to both.

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The Justice and Equality of this matter being thus considered, it is not to be suppos'd, that he who came to rescue our selves and the Reformed Religion from the violent Intrusion of *Romish* Idolatry and Slavery, would transfer our Possessions to those whose Injustice he came to punish and suppress. This seems to be an Act of greater severity than was that precipitate and hasty judgment of *David* to *Mephibosheth*, *Let Ziba and thou divide*: for in this case the Irish are in possession of the whole, and are so far from making any Overtures, or shewing any Indication of their Submission, that they have not so much as the Argument of that unworthy *Sycophant* on their sides, meeting the King on the way. Nay, so far have they deviated from the least of that Respect which is even owing to a Christian, that in their common Discourses they cursed the very name of the *Prince of Orange*, as the Offspring of that man who was so fatal to the *Romish* Church in the *Netherlands*, which they feared, was an ominous presage of his Posterity's being so to them. And if their inveterate malice against the *British* Protestants in *Ireland* was capable of any addition, they augmented it; for the Affection which was visibly discernable in them, to his now Sacred Majesty, whose Person and Government the *Irish* Papists have in so great an Abhorrence, and do, with the most impious Anathemas, so inhumanly execrate and revile, that we may justly account their malice not inferiour to that of the Jews to our Saviour, in scourging his Effigies, as a meritorious Act in their Devotion.

But I would not be understood in this place, as if the Tenour of this Discourse were design'd to  
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restrain the *Fountain* of the *KING'S Mercy*; but if the *Current* be diverted from its proper *Channel*, by turning it from his *Enclosures* into the *Common*, methinks there is a reasonable subject of Complaint against those, whose *Avarice* and too-interested a *Regard* to their private advantage (in prejudice to the publick welfare, not perhaps of one, but of three Nations) carry them beyond the bounds both of Reason and common Equity. We have had the most cogent and evincing demonstrations, That the Royal Affections of *His Majesty* are graciously inclin'd to us, by that wonderful Condescension shewn to his *Irish Protestant Subjects*, in that he permits, nay, commands them to speak; and since he is thus mercifully pleased to hear them represent their Grievances (the effects of their faithful adherence to the Cause he owns) they presume to request no more than this, Not to be debarr'd from the benefits of His Grace and Favour to them: They claim nothing of what in Justice belongs to their *Adversaries*; but desire their *own*, not the *Possessions* of *others*, but a *Restitution* of their proper *Right*, and this not to extend to *Losses* in *War*, (which those who outwardly seem to espouse, but secretly endeavour to undermine our true Interest, would insinuate) but for *Robberies* and other outrageous Acts of Violence, committed in time of Peace: and these of so notorious a nature, that had even their own *Papish Government*, and King, been in any capacity of asserting but part of the Laws, the Offenders would (at least in some degree) have been constrained to make Restitution.

Nor do the *Protestants* of *Ireland* desire the Blood of any, the *Principles* of whose Religion, as well as

natural Clemency, being such as permits them not to repay their Adversaries in their own Coin; but to chuse rather to leave them to God, and the King's Justice.

That which they would pray and intreat for, is only that which might be a means of preserving those, who have escaped the *Irish* Cruelty, as to their Lives, though not in their Estates: Namely, a Reparation for their substance taken from them, without which, they must inevitably perish, being in a worse condition than were the *Egyptians*, when they told *Joseph*, that they had nothing left but their Bodies and Lands: whereas these poor *Protestants*, who are now most humble Supplicants to His Majesty, were never invested in the latter, their whole substance consisting in Personal Estates, which they were totally stripped and dispossessed of.

Some have urged His Majesty's Proclamation of Pardon in *Scotland*, as an Argument to infer the reasonableness and necessity of the like to be extended to the Rebels in *Ireland*; but 'tis plain to me, that an Instance of so great disparity, insisted upon by men of understanding, serves but to confirm the Apprehensions and Opinions of many in that, which 'tis not my business here to mention: Only this I will affirm, That it seems not to be chargeable upon our Prime Ministers of State, but upon a small Fry that hope to sat themselves in the Troubled Waters of *Ireland*.

They are not unacquainted with the Humour and Disposition of the *Irish*, and how subject they are to bribe, when reduced to any Exigency: For which reason they are very unwilling at present to dispossess *them* of that Wealth, which by Rapin and Spoil they have gained from the *English*; to the intent that it may be left

left to be offered at their Altars, to make an Atonement for them.

But to return, It seems easie to answer that Objection of the Proceedings of *Scotland*, which in no Circumstances or Respects, run parallel with the present Rebellion of *Ireland*.

Those of *Scotland* were guilty of no Murthers or Robberies, upon their first Excursion, but acted only in their own defence; whereas those of *Ireland*, began both, without any opposition, or the least disturbance given them by the *British*.

They of *Scotland* had a pretence (though weak and insufficient) of being induced to what they did, at the Instigation of their Lords, and Grantees, who were for the late King *James*, and acted under his Commission.

But they of *Ireland* had not so much as this colour, when they committed their Outrages in that Kingdom.

Nay, to come nearer to them, even their own Government issued out Proclamations for restraining their inhumane violence: Though 'twas plain, that this was only a pretence of Justice, there being no effectual course taken to bring notorious Offenders to the least, not to say, condign Punishment, but were rather secretly animated, and encouraged in their Villanies by their Gentlemen, and Grantees.

But to come to a period, as to this Affair of *Scotland*, they are a People of the same Nation, united in one common interest; nay, and in Religion too, as to the main and essential part of it: and his Majesties Pardon, when graciously vouchsafed to such, may be interpreted to be of an universal influence, and extent, because it comprehends as well Friends as Enemies, by reaching to those Relations which are general among

them, and so in a manner including all; besides, what these Rebels did, was by virtue of a pretended Commission, and so their opposition, and acts of Hostility, may come under the Construction of a War, and in that respect more proper for pardon.

Whereas the *Irish* (not to enumerate Particulars, or to aggravate matters, which are notorious enough in themselves) can lay claim to none of these Reasons, in all which they are utterly Foreign, and bear no relation to the *British Protestants*.

I will now descend to a recital of those Reasons, which seem of force to persuade any unprejudiced and impartial man, That a General and Free Pardon will not attain the end designed, the speedy Reduction of *Ireland*.

We that by sad and lamentable experience are fully acquainted with the Humour and Genius of the Natives of that Kingdom, are none of us ignorant that Arts of Mildness and Indulgence, are not proper means to dispose them to obedience; the more that they are caressed, or favoured, the more rough, and intractable they appear to be: and all the Civilities, or acts of kindness, which have, or can be shewn to them, do but serve to heighten their Insolence, and Ingratitude, instead of begetting in them any hearty Affection, or esteem. That this is an Impartial, as well as Practical, and not a Malicious, or Speculative Notion of the evil temper, and vile Disposition of this people, as well their former, as their late unworthy carriage towards those of the *English*, who had been most obliging to them, is a demonstrative, and an infallible proof; by which the *Protestants* are now (though too late) convinced, that in this, they nearly resemble their Bogs, which are never to be

trusted to by going gently over, but the only safety is by cutting your way to the bottom.

If any Proposals be made to them either in War, or Peace, they immediately draw this favourable Inference from it to themselves, That they are looked upon as very formidable, and considerable ; That they are of the stronger side, and upon that account will never resolve to submit : I want not Instances which I could recount of this present Rebellion, of divers Gentlemen, who applied to some of the *Irish Grandees*, for their protection, upon assurance of former Friendship, (which the *Irish* are as profuse in the Expressions, as they are perfidious in the discharge of) and to that, they added promises of making suitable Retribution, to whatsoever acts of favour should be shewn to them ; but instead of meeting with a return of kindness from the *Irish*, (as the former Civilities done to them, and their repeated acknowledgments of them, with most vehement Protestations of a sincere Friendship, might have made it reasonable for them to expect) were entertained with Insultings, and vile Expressions of Reproach, and Contempt.

Again, I cannot see, how a General Pardon will affect them to a suitable submission, or to a laying down of their Arms, it will rather make them more obstinate in their Rebellion, which I gather from the following Reasons.

*First*, If it be an Argument on our side, to hasten the Conquest, for fear of assistance from the *French*, or of our other *Embroids* ; this seems to give equal encouragement to the *Irish*, to hold out, in expectation of those Advantages so favourable to their interest. The *Irish* Understanding and Courage is observed

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to be by themselves understood, and depended upon by Negatives: The Enemy, say they, are afraid of us; therefore they know, we are wise in Council, and strong in Arms; if not, they would never offer such terms to us. 'Tis a Maxim received amongst them, *Never bid first*; and they deduce this Consequence from it, *That he's on the weaker side who does.*

The Commonalty of the *Irish* are born up in this Rebellion by the assurances they have from their Priests, of being relieved by *Catholick* Princes: That the common Interest of their Holy Church and Religion, will oblige them to it: That the present Differences betwixt them and the *French* will be compos'd by the next Pope; there being nothing more common than for every Infallible Vicar of Christ, to act Diametrically contrary to his Predecessor; as being generally of another Interest, swayed by different Principles, and governed by new Maxims and Policies of State.

To this they add, That 'tis impossible for *Catholick* Princes to joyn with *Hereticks* to maintain the Interest of an Usurper, who is such an open and profess'd Enemy to their Church, in opposition to Saint *James*, whom they style, *the Confessor*, and doubt not to see him triumphant over the *Hereticks* of *Europe*: These and the like, are the usual Arguments of the Priests, which they artfully instil into the Common People.

Now what can more effectually confirm them in the belief of this opinion, than to offer them more than they can ask, (*viz.*) a Pardon for Life and Estate, together with the enjoyment of all they had before the Rebellion; and not only that, but what

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they have violently got since by Robbing and Pillaging of the *English*.

The *Irish* have not been shie in their frequent Discourses; That if they miscarried in this attempt, the Requital must be such as to put them beyond all expectation of another Opportunity: For they confessed, that what they did, proceeded not from any provocation given them by the *English*; nor could they have any pretence (the Government being wholly vested in themselves) whereas in the former Rebellion they wanted not matter of Complaint, for which Reasons they owned, That they could not think of Mercy, if that proved an Abortive, which they were labouring with all their might to bring forth to such perfection as to secure, and perpetuate to themselves the *Catholick* Interest, and Religion, all which is agreeable to their Motto, *Now, or never; now, and for ever.* And to confirm them in their Opinions in this matter, take the following brief account of their Actions.

Their Lords, and Clergy, put the Populace upon the most Violent and Irregular Courses, telling them, That they must now trust to their *Musket* and *Skene*; for their Actions have been such, as left no room for a Pardon from the *English*; and pursuant to this, there is scarce a Private Soldier, but will tell the *Protestants* that they expect no mercy, as being conscious to themselves, that they have left nothing undone that could provoke, or disoblige the *Protestants*.

Now if after all this, they be Courted and Addressed to, before a Blow is struck by the King's Army, which is sent over; they will be so far from making a right use of this Indulgence, that it will only



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only raise their Scorn, and puff them up with Insolence and Ambition, equal to that of their obtaining a Victory: For however his Majesty in great mercy and tenderness of Christian Blood, may make Proposals to them; yet their Earthy, and Slavish Nature, is such, as will induce them to believe, that nothing but fear of them, begets those tenders of Pardon and Mercy, and whilst they are prepossessed with Apprehensions of so base a Composition, and Alloy, offers of Indemnity to their Grandees, is to them Huzza's of Victory.

The next Reason in maintenance of my opinion, is, that giving Pardon to all that lay down Arms, &c. will be a means to enlarge the War: For no doubt the Generality of Men of Estates will make their submission to the *English Government*, but this outward compliance will only render them the more useful to their own Party, both in respect of giving them Intelligence, and Advice, and of supplying them with Money, which they may receive out of their Estates in the *English* Quarters, and their Friends out of that in the *Irish*.

It seems a vulgar, and dangerous error to believe, that taking away the Men of Estates from the *Irish*, will be a means of obliging the rest to submit, whereas it rather portends the quite contrary, and I'm really of opinion, that the *Irish* Ambition is nothing beyond having them in their Quarters.

This renders them formidable in the opinion of their own Party, that they should be so courted, and fortifies the Commonalty with an Assurance, that

that when matters are come to the worst, they can have recourse to a Pardon.

This may be deemed a Maxim of War calculated for the World of the Moon, that upon a Rebellion, the men of Estates, and Leaders into it, as soon as they have formed an Army and headed them, till they had seized upon all the *English* Estates, should then be invited to Pardon, and thereby be capacitated to attend, not only the present success of this, but of another Rebellion: which as it has been a practice too frequently pursued in the *English* Conquests of *Ireland*, as its fatal Consequences have but too fully evinc'd; so is it matter of Astonishment, and Admiration to see the same measures re-assumed in the present juncture

This seems an Invitation to them to Rebel, to vouchsafe a pardon to such, by whose influence and example the inferiour sort have been prompted, and instigated to it: For the Rabble are not capable of making an head, but by the Government, and direction of their Superiors; but when once they are gathered into a body, they are then more easily managed, and commanded without them: And 'tis doubtless a signal advancement to their common interest and design, to protect, and preserve them 'till the next opportunity presents, of making another attempt.

On the contrary, it appears to be much more reasonable, to believe, that the pardoning the Populace, and excluding their Commanders, would be a more expeditious Expedient whereby to obtain the Kingdom: For though the *Irish* Heads of their *Clans* influence the Common People, whilst the Lands, and Herds follow them, yet that homage, and De-  
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pendance, ceaseth of course, when they are divested of both. This common experience evinceth to be true, by shewing how careless and unnatural the vulgar *Irish* are to their *Grandeess*, when they find it their interest not to adhere to them.

This would quickly receive a Demonstration, if a Proclamation were issued forth, extending only to Private, and Inferiour men, or at least to none exceeding the degree of a Captain.

Before the late King *James's* Accession to the Crown, men rarely heard the poorer sort speak of their Old Lords, but with sad Complaints, that they had ever been the occasion of their ruin; and whatever they now do, proceeded more from a dependence upon Foreign aid, than any Confidence they placed either in their *Chieftians*, or themselves.

And if now an Experiment were made, which they would adhere to, whether their *English*, or *Irish* Landlords? This would no longer remain a Question, for they are by so much the more sensible of the great advantages derived to them from the *English* Government, by how much they are possessed with a deep sense and apprehension of their present Sufferings, under their own, or rather *French Tyranny*, when the *English Farthing* is become their *Sixpence*.

It is not rational for Men to adhere to such as are in no capacity, either of securing themselves, or their Dependants: Separate them from the opinion of Foreign Assistance, and they will soon despair of their own Strength, and forsake their *Grandeess*; but to reduce them by pardoning their *Lords*, is (if it should take) the only way to fix  
them

them perpetually to them, and suggest to them an opinion, that they are very considerable abroad in their *Foreign Alliance*; or else, That the *English* would not make court to them at home, when they are at their Devotion, and lie at their mercy, as now they must be own'd to do.

Besides, the bringing in the common People by their *Lords*, is to make them own their Deliverance to them, and consequently to be under a stricter and more indispensable obligation of *homage* and *subjection* to them, than formerly; which (I presume) would be a thing neither honourable nor safe.

The ordinary People have no inclination to travelling, no, not so much as removing from one Province to another. Let them but enjoy the conveniency of returning to their *Cabins*, and of living quietly under the protection and security of the *English Laws* and Government, and they will account to have made a very good and advantageous exchange.

Thus having, in general terms, described the present constitution and circumstances of the Irish, I shall now descend to particulars, and first look back into their ancient forms and modes of Government, before the arrival of the *English* in that Kingdom, which nearly resembled that of the *Arabs*, though not so regular: for their chief regard was to the Power and Force of him that govern'd, not to the Right of Succession; it was enough, if he were of the same *Family*, whether *Brother* or *Son*, *Elder* or *Younger*, and in proportion to these wild *Maxims*, they enjoyed their Estates. He that was accounted the most Warlike, or more truly speak-

ing most barbarous, the rest of the Family submitted to him.

This *Savage Custom* prevailed upon them till the coming of the *English*, whose presence among them gave some check to it; yet could never be extirpated, till the *English Laws* and Government were established in their Country, which to this day (notwithstanding their present *Usurpation*) they cannot but acknowledge to be an *Happy Conquest*; but though the advantages of it be great to themselves, yet there are many of them so unreasonably prepossessed in favour of their former *Confusion*, or rather in prejudice to their present *Change*, because done by the *English*, as to wish again for their *Onions* and *Garlick* of *Aegypt*, and to anathematize the best Reform'd amongst them, for introducing the *English Customs* and *Restraints* upon a *Free People*, as they accounted themselves, when indeed they were but *Slaves* to their own *Brutality* and *Lust*.

I shall not stuff Paper with what our *Chronicles* and *Histories* of *Ireland* relate, as to the Title and Interest of *England* to that Kingdom, nor repeat the *Treasure* of Blood and Coin it has cost, to preserve it under the *English Government*; but shall only observe to the *Reader*, that it never continu'd so long without a Deluge of Blood, as in the late *Calm* and peaceable *Interval*, since the *War* of Forty One, which was not ended till Fifty Three, nor the Kingdom settled till Sixty Three. So that by a proper computation, it was not perfectly quiet in the possession of the *British Protestants* above Twenty Two years; for we must commence the date of our *Troubles* in that Kingdom from the *Late King's* ascending the *Throne*. This is then but  
a short

a short Rest of Twenty two years for that desolate Kingdom, (tired with the long fatigues of a constant War, and almost all its *British Veins* quite emptied of *Protestant Blood*) and yet the longest and most profitable that ever the *English* enjoy'd there, much of which is attributed to the Conquest of *Cromwell*, who thought it a diminution to his Honour, to condescend to any terms with so base an Enemy; and had not the Interest of their Patron, the late King, prevailed in the Settlement of that Nation, but left them in the same condition they were found in at the *Restoration* of King *CHARLES* the *Second*, *Ireland* had been in the greatest Tranquillity of any of the three Kingdoms, and consequently an entire Interest for our Deliverer, His present Majesty.

It is now a matter deserving our consideration, Whether that Kingdom, as it remains in the *Irish* and *French* hands (whether by both or either united) it can be reasonably suppos'd to withstand His Majesty's Forces and Subjects in that Kingdom.

In order to which, first reflect upon the *Irish*, as to their Commanders; and secondly, as to their Troops.

First, As to their Commanders; Notwithstanding that they boast of some few Colonels, and inferior Officers, yet they cannot nominate one Man that ever actually did or can Command a Field. Their great Captain *Justin Mac Carthy* might be as good in a Cellar as any General in Europe; but in a Field (as the King of *Denmark* said of him, when he was sent to him) his Army must not be commanded by Glass-Eyes.



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Their *Officers* being thus mean, their *Troops* are next to be considered, and they perchance in the general, are the most abject wretches in the world; taken by force from the *Spade* and *Cabin*, who by Blows and continual Instruction, were brought to handle their Arms, but not one in ten can fire a *Musquet* without *shut eyes* and a *trembling hand*. I speak not this at random, or by hear-say, but upon good grounds. 'Tis true, their *Horse* are better, but yet we have had a demonstration of their behaviour and all their actions in the *North*.

This being a true Character of their own Force, their dependence must be upon the *French Auxiliaries*, to supply these Defects; but how that suits with the Irish Interest and Design is not difficult to imagine.

The *Irish Gentry* (for I must say that the common People desire not *War* with the *English*) put themselves upon this *Rebellion*, not so much out of a Loyal Adherence to their *King*, as to be free *Lords of the Soil*, and are now under no predominancy, if they are capable by their own strength to continue their Deliverance, otherwise they had better be under the *English* mild Government than the *French* Arbitrary Power, whose cruel *Tyranny* to his native Subjects affords no Invitation or Encouragement to others, to put themselves under it.

By this short Enquiry, it seems plain, That the present posture of *Affairs* in *Ireland*, are not in so good a *disposition*, as to entitle those wretched People to demand *terms*, but rather to throw themselves upon and acquiesce in the King's *Mercy*; and that to descend to *Capitulations* with them, much  
more



more to give their Leaders Pardon, is to *encourage* and *revive* a running Enemy.

If then it be granted, That they are not in a capacity to oppose the *Arms* of *England*, and that one Fourth of the Kingdom is already in the actual possession of the *Protestants*, the best of the Irish Forces lost, and that many of them living have laid down their Arms. This being premised, the next thing to be considered, is, What Motives there are for giving Pardon to their *Chief Commanders*, and those which are insisted upon are two.

The first is, That by giving a General *Pardon*, the Kingdom will be the sooner gain'd.

The second, That a *Pardon* will preserve the *Towns* and *Cities*, which the *Irish* will burn, if made desperate.

To the first of these I shall return a two fold Answer.

*First*, That a Pardon to the Chief Lords and Men of Estates, will not affect the *Army*, for that few of them are consider'd there as Souldiers, in regard that other men, subordinate to them, are the Commanders and Leaders in the *Army*; so that pardoning them secures not the men of action, who lie under such circumstances as a general Pardon will not free them from.

*Secondly*, A Pardon for all Crimes and Misdemeanours relating to the *Crown*, will be no Security to the *private Souldiers*, *Captains*, *Lieutenants*, &c. my Reason is, For that all the *Robberies* and *Spoils* done to the English, were committed by such, though at the secret instigation and encouragement of their *Great ones*. Now the English cannot prefer

for an Action at *Law* against any but these private men; and if thereby they become obliged (as in Justice they ought) to make *restitution* of what they have made a violent Seizure from the other, that must certainly bring on their inevitable Ruin, which will make it as equal to them to die in the *Field* as in a *Gaol*.

And now, as to the second Motive, That a General *Pardon* will prevent *Burning* and other Devastations, I answer, That it will have the quite contrary effect, and consequently be an occasion of more *Mischief*; which I undertake to demonstrate from the following reasons.

*First*, It is an unalterable *Maxim*, rivetted amongst 'em, as well by the Principles of their Religion as natural *genius* and common Custom, to do as much *Mischief* as they possibly can to the *Protestants*; and as soon as they receive an account of this *Pardon*, will be very industrious to leave what marks they can of their inveterate *Fury*; and 'tis possible for them to effect this in a days time throughout the Kingdom, and yet keep within the compass of their *Pardon*.

*Secondly*, This General Pardon will not prevent *Burning* and other destructive Arts of the English Plantations, but rather promote them; for that their *Lords* being reinvested in their *Estates*, will consider, That if the English Houses and Improvements be destroyed, their *Estates* will be the sooner inhabited, for that the *English* coming in *poor*, will have *nothing* to build or improve their *Estates*: so that in course, the Irish Lands must be first Peopl'd.

For these reasons it seems evident, That a General Pardon will not have the effect propos'd, neither as to the more expeditious reduction of that Kingdom, nor for the preventing of the Ruin and Devastation feared from the *Irish*.

The next consideration, in order to the former, is, What *Mischiefs* will attend a General Pardon, and how it will affect the *English* or *British* Interest; which shall be laid down in these seven following particulars.

*First*, It will be an encouragement to the *Irish*, to commit the same Outrages again, and will animate them to an embracing of the first opportunity, which they have now more reason to expect to prove favourable to them, than formerly, since that the *French* are engaged with them in one bottom, and are link'd together in a general Interest, as being (as 'tis said) by vertue of the late Compact, entituled to a share in the Kingdom. Now, if at any time the *French* should be at leisure, by concluding of a Peace with his Enemies abroad, he may, at pleasure, pour an Army into Ireland, where the *Natives* there will be in a readiness to give them a kind reception, and that without hardly exposing themselves to any hazard, in regard that they will suppose that they will be no Losers by it. Since a Pardon attends their greatest Outrages, the worst that can ensue, will be only to bring them in, and to secure them from committing more.

*Secondly*, It will enrich the *Irish*, and impoverish the *English*, who, at a moderate computation, may be deem'd to have lost in *Personal Estates*, *Money*, *Goods*, and *Cattel*, to a greater value than the Land

of the whole Kingdom amounts to, all which is in the possession of the *Irish*, which as it renders the *Protestants* of little use in defence of the Kingdom, so on the other side, it strengthens the hands of the *Irish*, and makes them formidable and very capable of raising disturbances in it. Money commands *Men*; and *Men* command *Kingdoms*, and the *Irish* were never since the Conquest, *Masters* of more, if they pass unquestioned, with the *Personal Estates* of the *British Protestants*.

*Thirdly*, It will be the irresistible Ruin of the *Protestants* of that Kingdom, seeing that all the *Tenants* are despoiled of their *Stocks*; so that a Tenant having no *Cattel* to put upon his *Land*, can consequently pay no Rent, nor be capable of living in the Kingdom. A Calamity better indeed exprest with *Tears* than *Ink*; and 'tis no small addition to so lamentable a subject, to see some *Thousands*, that *twelve months* ago, and less, lived perhaps as plentifully as any People of *Europe*, at this day *Wandering Beggars*, and some perishing in the *Fields* for want of Sustenance, as they must inevitably do, if *Ireland* were in the *English* hands to-morrow, upon the *Conditions* of a General Pardon to the *Natives*. Great (I had almost said, infinite) numbers there are, that in *November* last lost *personal Estates*, to the value of *Thousands*, not having now *Clothes* to their *Backs*, nor *Bread* to eat.

They are now scattered through this Kingdom, some relieved by the Benevolence of their Relations, others by the publick *Charity* of the *Kingdom*, and by reason of the distance of their abode, are the less remarkable; but when once they meet together

gether in the same *place*, from whence they were expell'd by Irish *Robberies* and the like acts of an inhumane violence, it may reasonably be said of them, as of the Prophet's dry Bones, *Can these live?* and his return will be the proper answer, *Thou Lord, knowest*. For, should they have no Reprize on the *Irish Estates*, they must inevitably perish at the very *doors* of their Enemies.

*Fourthly*, As this will ruin all men of Personal Estates, so will it also have the same effect upon those of *Real*: For, their Tenants being lost, their Lands must of Course lie waste, and even quite depopulated: For, the *Landlords* of *Ireland* were as well stripped of their *Personal Estates*, as their *Tenants*, and generally came for *England*, with as small a Provision for their Subsistence in it; so that in their return, they will not have a *Penny* to buy *Stock*, nor a *Bed* to lie upon.

*Fifthly*, As it destroys all the *Protestants* that have, or had, an Interest in the Kingdom; so it for ever deterrs any new Planters. It can never be forgotten, That in the midst of Peace a *Nation* was destroyed in a *day*, and the *Authors* indemnified that did it.

Who will adventure themselves in such a *Country*, or, at least, attempt to go to a *place* that lies at the mercy and devotion of *Savages*, and is not protected by its *Friends*.

*Sixthly*, A General Pardon will make it a perpetual Charge to *England*, as well as place it beyond a possibility of its reimbursing the expence its reduction will now contract upon this Nation; besides

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the apparent hazard of multiplying the like charge and trouble, by being expos'd to the same *Work* in a few years again; for, as long as their *Grandeess* enjoy their *Estates*, they will influence the populace, so as to have them at their *beck*, for any *design*, which they will not be wanting to promote, against the *Government*.

*Seventhly*, A General Pardon will be the only Instrument of preserving all the Irish in the Kingdom, and for the reasons already mentioned, of diminishing the English, which will make it a perfect *Irish Colony*, who are wonderfully productive of their Breed, and must therefore necessarily be kept in Obedience, by a powerful Army, which will be very expensive to the *CROWN*, for that it is the English Trade and Consumption, that made the Revenue of *Ireland*, which sinking to a low ebb, must be supplied out of *England*.

These Reasons, being allowed to be of force, against granting of a General Pardon to the *Irish*; I will in the next place offer what seems an Expedient in this Affair, whereby the *Irish* may not be made desperate, nor yet the losing *Protestants* irrecoverably ruined: but that both the one and the other, may be rendered useful to the King and Kingdom, and yet even the *Irish* not excluded from his Majesty's mercy.

I cannot undertake so much as a regular computation of the Numbers of the *Irish*, but know in one County where the *Protestants* were numbered 700, the *Papists* amounted to 7000. And tho' other Counties of that Kingdom are better planted with *British*, yet at the lowest



lowest, and most moderate reckoning, there is above five *Irish* for one *British*.

Now if of so many Millions (for it is not to be supposed that one *Irish Papist* in that Kingdom is, or indeed can be free, both as a Native, and as of that Communion, as not being admitted to Mass, or Confession, a prohibition from either of which they believe to be Damnable, that joins not in the Extirpation of Hereticks) an Hundred should be excepted from Pardon, could this reasonably be interpreted an Act of Severity, or a design to extirpate a People: Do we find in any Story such a *Decimation*? Pardon me, that I use the word so improperly, for here is not one of Twenty Thousand taken off: if such moderate Justice can be excused to the *Protestants*, it can deserve no less then *Adoration* from the *Papists*, nor could such a Miraculous Mercy proceed from any Monarch, or Religion, but ours.

Notwithstanding all which, 'tis matter of admiration to see the *Shameis* of our Age (the Family of *Saul*) throw up the Dust of their Cloven Feet, and scurrilously call our *David* a Man of Blood; though to this day, he has not suffered one drop to be spilt: but in his Royal Will carefully imitates the exemplary goodness of his Blessed Master, who in the discharge of his Embassy into this lower World, affirms, That the design of his Negotiation, was not, to destroy, but to preserve the Lives of Men: And even in the Pardon proposed, the Exception is under Eighty, and though all of them so notoriously immersed in Blood and Rapin, that the very *Cannibals* would deem them quite divested of Humanity; yet His Majesty leaves a Door of Mercy, where-in for them to enter, if they will but testify by

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their Actions, that they strive to merit an Admiffion.

But when this does juftly f Silence the Enemies of God, and the King, as it reasonably ought to do, yet they will ftill impertinently object, That though the Lives of thefe men, may be fo wrapt up by their own behaviour, as to render them capable of meriting their prefervation, yet their Eftates muft be facrificed to the Refentments of the prefent Government: and to make their Seditious noife, carry fome found of truth, they fum up their Eftates by Multiplication, and that to thrice as much as they really amount to.

But why do not thefe Jufticiaries who exprefs fo great a care, and follicitude for the *Irish*, give us an account of what the *British* have been deprived of, which is fo great, that all the *Irish* *Papifts* Eftates of that Kingdom, were they to be fold, could not make fatisfaction for one Moiety, which they have robbed the *Proteftants* of, in their Personal Subftance.

But I hear fome of them fay, by an equal Parity of Reason, that the *British* defire fatisfaction out of *Irish-mens* Eftates; Merchants may expect reparation for their loffes at Sea out of Prizes taken by the King's Ships. This Argument may well be thought to proceed from men of *Abdicated* fenfe, as well as Interest: For pray, wherein confifts the Parallel? *Merchants* venture themfelves with the expectation of divers Accidents, and Contingencies, and accordingly lay their designs of profit in a form proportionable to their hazards.

And to fhew the Consideration, the Government has for them, and what relief they are to expect upon a lofs at Sea, the Parliament provided in the Statute

tute for Subsidies of *Tonnage*, and *Poundage*, that in such Cases, they should receive back the Customs they paid.

Now though it be impossible to run the Comparison, yet the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, I durst be *Guarantee* for, will thankfully acknowledge the like satisfaction: Give them but as much as they have paid in *Quit rent*, *Taxes*, *Harth-money*, *Customs*, and *Excise*, since they were put into a Legal Possession of that Kingdom by King *Charles* the Second, and they will desire no more.

I confess these Pot-guns of the *Jacobites* are not worth answering, yet I cannot forbear mentioning one thing more:

Who are they that commit Robberies at Sea? if Pirates, and especially of the King's Subjects, are they treated like Enemies of War? And will they be established in a quiet, and peaceable possession of what they have robbed from their fellow-Subjects? The case is the same in *Ireland*: Our fellow-Subjects, for so they were entitled, before this Rebellion; set upon their quiet and innocent Neighbours, and seized violently upon their whole substance. How equal the Parallel then is, of losing Ships at Sea by a Foreign Enemy, and such Robbers at home, a Child may judge.

But to come to that I propose as an Expedient to answer the thing designed, (*viz.*) a quick and easie Conquest of *Ireland*.

In the pursuit of this Topick, the Question that will arise from it, will be, whether pardoning the Commonalty in general, and excepting some few of the Grandees, or pardoning the chief men with the Commonalty, under the same Qualifications, will  
most

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most contribute to the safe and effectual reduction of that Kingdom.

I shall espouse the first of these, by asserting, That pardoning the Commonalty, and excepting some of their greatest men, will soonest prevail, and that for these three Reasons

*First*, Pardoning the Commonalty, and excepting some of their chiefest men, will encourage the Populace to submit upon that very assurance, and consequently upon their own bottom, without any dependence upon the Heads of their *Clans*; which of how contemptible a consideration soever it may appear to some, is certainly a matter of the greatest moment in the Reduction of that Kingdom. For 'tis as well the assiduous contrivance, as common interest of the *Irish* Grandees, to keep the Commonalty under the Circumstances of a constant dependence upon them, endeavouring to possess them with an opinion, that 'tis by their means, and upon their account only, that the others obtain terms and security, by which politick influence upon the ordinary sort, in the closing of one Rebellion, they lay a foundation for, and so not only give Birth, but add Fuel to another: For the Heads of Clans, as well by themselves, as by the co operating instigation of their Priests, carefully instil into the Ignorant Multitude, that let them make an insurrection when they please, they can incur no danger; for at the utmost extremity of things they are, and must ever be the Grand Instruments of their Preservation: Let them be never so deeply involved in Blood and Rapin, yet that their power and interest is such, as must necessarily bring them off: They are the Tall Cedars, that can at any time defend the lower Shrubs, and what need they fear, since they are under so strong a Guard,

Guard, and Protection, whose Persons are so formidable, as well as inviolable to the *English*, as always to shield them from harm.

But if this deluded *Mobile* see, that the King has no regard to their Leaders, but on the contrary excludes the greatest of them from Pardon; this will demonstrate to them, that 'tis his Royal Mercy, not the interest of their Lords, that must preserve them: This will remove the opinion of their dependance upon their Lords, and consequently oblige them to suitable apprehensions of His Majesty's Clemency to them; by which means deriving their preservation from the Crown, they will wholly depend upon it: whereas they never were yet separated from the interest of their Clans, but in those few years of *Cromwell's* Government, the good effect whereof those who were Eye-witnesses of it in *Ireland*, and now living, can give a description; when most of the Commonalty went to Church, and Doors with a Wooden Latch were as secure, as an Iron Grate in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

*Secondly*, Pardoning the Commonalty, without any dependance upon their Commanders, being extended as a matter of meer Grace and Princely favour to them, will possess those poor people with apprehensions of the good Inclinations of the *English* towards them, which will induce them to a ready submission.

They (as most barbarous People) are generally of Diffident, and Timorous Natures, and 'tis with some difficulty, that they can be prevailed upon to believe, that their Crimes shall be forgiven. This, I suppose, may proceed from the fierceness, and cruelty of their own Dispositions, as not looking for those unexpected returns of kindness from such, whom they have testi-

fied fo Implacable an Aversion, and Prejudice against.

Now whilst they crowd under their Leaders, they are fostered up in that Opinion, which the way prescribed of reducing them, will take them off, and make them sensible that the *Protestants* look not on them as the Authors, but the forced Instruments of this Rebellion; which, when they are made apprehensive of, will soon divert the stream from its former Current, and their private Soldiers will fly from their marked out Commanders, as from a Plague, or publick Contagion. Now that this is no Novel Notion, their very practice in former Rebellions does fully evince, when the Father to save his own, would betray his Sons Life, which was the usual method throughout the whole Kingdom: Neither is it in the power of their Priests (how Arbitrary soever in the exercise of their Function) to govern, or restrain them longer, than whilst their own Party can protect them; their Secular, carrying so great a Predominancy over their Spiritual Interest, as makes them inseparable Slaves to their Cow, and *Pottato*-Garden; and he only commands them that is Lord of the Soil, without any regard to Proximity of Blood, or Ancient Property.

But to proceed to my Third Reason, That pardoning the Commons, is the ready way to put a period to the Rebellion: Our Laws, as well as Reason acquaint us, That the King's General Pardon is no security to any private man for personal actions, for any Robberies, or Mischiefs done to the *Protestants*. Now all the waste, and havock committed in *Ireland*; was done by the Commonalty, though by private orders,  
and



and instructions of their Leaders, and to their greatest profit.

These men will be told by their Lawyers, That this Pardon is but a snare to bring them in, and that private Actions which will be commenced against them, will rot them in Gaol.

But the General Pardon excepting so many men of Estates, and in exprefs words declaring that they shall be converted to a restitution of what the *Protestants* have lost, this will quiet, and allay the fears of the Commonalty, that they shall be free from Actions and Suits at Law, by the satisfaction the Estates of their Commanders will make.

If these Reasons be allowed sufficient for the confirmation of what they are alledged, the next thing that falls under our present Consideration, is, What Settlement will most effectually conduce for the speedy planting of that Kingdom: for that there is too apparent Reasons to fear, that the greatest part of the Farmers, and Traders are now incapacitated, and consequently can be of little use, or benefit, till something be raised to put them in stock; so that it must necessarily be a new People that must bring that upon the Wheel, for it is not visible how the late *English*, or *British* Interest can make it more.

Now to invite both His Majesties Subjects, as well as Foreigners of the Reformed Religion, into that Kingdom, these things offer to their encouragement.

*First*, To take off the Umbrage and Fears of new Rebellions.

And to give a rational prospect and assurance of advantage to such as shall come there, for the future.

For the First, to remove the fears, which men are generally possess'd with of Insurrections in that Kingdom, there needs a retrospection into that Government, since its first Conquest by the *British*, and then see the success it had : which useful Animadversion will naturally lead men to a consideration of what misfortunes and miscarriages it has since been incident to ; and to what in a more especial manner it has been of late obnoxious ; it being a received Maxim, as well in the Body Politick, as Natural, that the most secure way of applying a wholesome Remedy, is first to make a right discovery of the Disease.

The Deportment of the *English* in their first Government of *Ireland* was managed with abundance of Candour ; and Generosity of Temper, by all means and ways imaginable, indulging a Savage People over-run with rudeness and barbarity : and seeing that they were then united in the Principles of one *Religion*, it might be conjectured no artful undertaking, or task of extream difficulty, to reduce them to an entire obedience to the Civil Government, who stood so unanimously well affected to that of the Ecclesiastical.

But it was afterwards found a Work of a far different nature, and much harder to effect, to reform the Errors and Innovations introduced into their Church, than to propagate Christianity, where it was never established before : the Irish hating, in religious matters, what came from the *English Clergy* ; and so inveterate they were against their Reformers, that they would anathematize all such as seem'd inclined to favour them, giving it in strict Charge to their *Children*, never to imitate the Customs and Manners of the *English* ; which, to create the greater abhor-

rence

rence against, as well as to demonstrate their implacable rancour, would (agreeably to their more early nurture and education of their Off-spring) put the first *Food* into their *Mouths* with the point of a *Sword*; a true *Hieroglyphick* of their savage Cruelty, as well as their expressions were a denotation of their great Barbarity, which they used upon that occasion, *Wishing that they might never die, but with a Sword in their hands, in the midst of their enemies.*

This *Barbarism* the English Government thought to eradicate, by reducing them to the more easie Discipline of Civility, and that to be done by the gentle methods of Kindness, and a favourable Indulgence to their *Lords* and the *Heads of Clans*, making them Presents, & giving them a legal power over their Followers and Tenants, thereby to wean and alienate them from that Arbitrary Violence which they had usurp'd before; all which, like *Honey* in a vitiated *Stomach*, turned to *Choler*, and they became the greater Enemies to good Laws and Constitutions, by having the opportunity put into their hands of converting them from a regular administration to vile and enormous Abuses.

To this the English Government superadded that powerful *Tye* of *Marriage*, that so uniting in Blood might be an Introduction to English *Humanity* and *Civility*; but all this was like *Corn sown upon Thorns*, choaked up by the natural brutality of that ungrateful People, insomuch, that they could not be brought to any part of conformity (no, not in their Garments) to English Fashions, until by *Statute-Laws* they were compelled to decency: Such an invincible detestation they bore to the Manners and Customs of the *British*, which recalls to my mind a passage I was in part an eye-witness of: A Gentleman of

the *Irish* marrying one of *Lynster*, whose Education there being something refined by conversing with the *English*, and coming to his own House, according to the Custom of the Country, all his *Tenants* and *Clans*, brought in *Beefs*, *Muttons*, &c. in a great abundance, and the Lady finding more than could be spent while 'twas fresh, ordered to have some of it powdered up; which these People hearing of, renounced their Lord and Lady, as invaders of their ancient Priviledges and Liberties, which (as they affirm'd) were never violated before in that House, where 'twas never known that *Flesh* was salted, but on the *Trencher*.

I must intreat the Reader's Pardon for this digression, and return to the still-mistaken tenderness of the *English Government*, which was so very indulgent, that though the *Irish* were never twenty years quiet, and scarce half so long, till King *James* the First, yet did the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* not only vouchsafe Pardon, but likewise heapt Creations of great Honour and Dignity upon those who, in the general acceptance, were irreconcilable Enemies both to It and Them. I will not stand to enumerate particulars, but rather referr the Reader to the several *Authors* that have writ of that Kingdom, and shall only give a succinct account of some passages of the Rebellion of Forty One, too deeply imprinted in the Memories of Men, ever to be eras'd or forgotten, which, if Sir *John Davis*, that writ so excellently of the Defects of the Kings of *England* in the *Civil Policy*, in the Government of *Ireland*, had lived to be a *Spectator* of, he would have enlarged that admirable *Discourse*, in which he prophetically lamented what we have by two *Rebellions* since fatally found true: In the *Rebellion* of Forty One,

One, their barbarous and inhumane *Massacres* demonstrated to the World the cruel design of the *Irish*, quite to extirpate and destroy the whole *Race* and Progeny of the *British*, which in their former Insurrections they had in some measure spared, but were resolved to correct that Error in *this*, which they looked upon themselves to have been guilty of in former *Rebellions*, and as a demonstration of their carefulness in the execution of so damnable a Design, there was not found *Five* of the *Roman Catholics* innocent, though they cannot but acknowledge, but that even in the time of *Cromwel*'s Government they had fair *Trials*, and no *Articles* entered into with them, but were most inviolably and punctually observ'd, even to the Privileges of a little *Town* call'd *Featherd*, where, until the *Restoration* of King *Charles* the Second, the *Irish* not only enjoyed their *Estates*, but had the keeping of their *Town*, chose their own *Officers*, &c.

But in all the *Promises* or *Articles* made with the *Irish*, *Cromwel* observed one standing *Rule*, never to give a *Pardon* for *Estate* to any of their *Grandeess*, nor grant terms for *Priests* to remain in the Kingdom. Had the *Monarchs* of *England* acted by the same measures before that, I mean, since the Reformation, there had been no such National Revolution in that Kingdom; as the vast multitudes of the *Protestant Exiles* in this give but too lamentable a proof of, and consequently there had been no occasion for this *Discourse*: for by that means the *Irish* could never have been capable of making an *Insurrection*, and so could not have come under such Circumstances, as to require a *Pardon* for their Security, not to relate the wonderful good effect which Seven years continuance of that Government

ment met with in that *Kingdom*, which was, That most of the *Common People* went to Church, and some of the discreetest of their men of *Estates* began to hearken with great attention to Discourses made upon the *Fopperies* and absurd Innovations of *Popery*. The Country flourished to a vast degree, grew rich and populous to a Miracle, and had the same Settlement been confirm'd, in which it lay under at the Restauration of King *Charles* the Second, there had been no possibility left for the effecting of those *fatal Mischiefs* which have prevail'd with so irresistible a force in that poor *Kingdom*. But his *Mercy* to this perfidious People was, upon its first vouchsafing, feared to be an *ominous presage* of *Cruelty* to the *British Protestants*: And we have now but too fatal experience of the truth of what even at that time it portended. By what has been insisted upon, it seems sufficiently plain, That the Success attending the Indulgence of the *English* Government to the *Irish*, has alwaies been to enable and animate them to fresh *Rebellions*, in which their inveterate *Genius* has fully shewn, That they were never wanting upon the least inviting opportunity, alwaies with open *Arms* and as ready *Hearts* embracing the Enemies of *England*, as their Patrons, in imitation of the vile and ungrateful Carriage of the *Samaritans* to the *Jews*, whom they owned as *Brethren*, when they were in Prosperity, and stood in need of their assistance and protection; but disclaim'd all kind of relation or affinity to them, when they were distressed by other Nations, and so either called for their Relief, or else supposing that the Enemies of the *Jews* would proceed against them as their Friends and Confederates, resolved to untwist all the Bonds of their Alliance, and to side with the common



mon Adversary, when it appeared to be for their Interest so to do.

And something parallel to this, is also the demeanour of the *Irish* toward the *Spaniard*, who in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* were their *Catholick Guardians*, from whom they boastingly derived their original Extraction and Descent: Now the *Spaniards* are their *Paltrons*, and the *French* their *Deity*, and so as *Catholick* as they pretend, would not stick to make court to the *Turk*, were he in a capacity to invade *England*, and to offer them assistance.

The premises of this Discourse seem very copious as to the asserting a necessity of extraordinary acts to take off the fears that, by the experience of former *Precedents*, may reasonably be judg'd to attend that *Kingdom*, and to give encouragement for new, as well as for *old* Inhabitants.

Now there seems nothing possible to secure that *Kingdom*, but the extirpation of two *Setts* of Men among them, such as are invested in the greatest Command and Authority over their *Bodies*; and the *Priests* and *Clergy*, who have so absolute a *Government* over their *Souls*. For these are the men that have been the great Instruments and Incendiaries of all their *Rebellions*, that have as well forwarded as headed the easie Multitude, and without whose *Instigation* the *Populace* would have submissively acquiesced under, and never appear'd against the *British*. And if our long experience of former Times and Revolutions be deem'd a competent Testimony in this case, With what greater shew of Reason have we now cause to be afraid of the time to come, especially if we consider the present juncture and Constitution of Affairs? For now the *French* have found the way into that *Kingdom*. and are  
thoughtly

thoroughly acquainted with the Interest, Situation, Strength, or rather Weakness of it; are entituled to a proportion in it by vertue of the pretended Right of the late King *James*, and in order to that, have *Livery* and *Seisin* given them. This ministers just occasion of fear, that they will give frequent *Alarums* to that *Kingdom*, which never had before a foreign Enemy in the bowels of it; the *Spaniards* seeing but the edges and out-skirts of it, whereas the *French* industriously pry into every corner, upon the favour of him that delights in the destruction of these *Kingdoms*, which to facilitate, or rather to the utmost of his power compleat, gives up the distressed innocent *Protestants* of *Ireland* into the barbarous hands of the *French King*, whose Success and Dexterity, though not Inclination, is greater in the Butchering *Hereticks*, as the good and great King *James* calls the *Protestants* of these *Kingdoms*.

Now, if the common *Herd* of the Irish be separated from their prime Leaders, and from their *Wolves in Sheeps clothing*, there will be none left to blow up the Coal of Treason or Sedition among them, or any to head or animate them in it: And the progress of a few years of careful Instruction from our Protestant Clergy, in the Rudiments and first Draughts of our Profession, will initiate them into the more safe Religion and easie Government of the *British*. Besides, if the *French* have no *Confederates* left in that *Kingdom*, to give them a favourable reception, (as in this case they would not) there would be no great reason to fear them, neither would they dare to attempt the Country without that dependence.

If it should be thought hard, to dispose of the *Irish-men*; it may be answered, that there are *Fields of Mercy* for the King to extend: and this desired for the preservation of the *Protestant Interest*, is but a small *Enclosure*; not one, as I said before, of *Twenty Thousand*; nor was there ever greater *Criminals* up to the *Elbows in Protestant Blood* in the *Rebellion of Forty One*: the very same individual men that are engaged in this, found guilty, and once *Condemned* for that, and how their *Estates* after forfeiture were torn from the *British Protestants*, is no secret to the World. Nor is it unknown, that upon their *Restoration*, in the year *One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty two*, above *Sixty Thousand* Protestants were drove out to seek their Bread, and scattered through the World: This was nothing. But to banish less than an Hundred must be great Cruelty, though men cause guilty of Blood and Treason, and those whose Estates they are in present possession of, stained with neither.

This is a Compendious, as well as an easie way to remove the fears of future *Rebellions*, and gives good assurance for the time to come, that the *Commonalty* will be united as one people with the *British*, when they have neither *Lord*, nor *Priest* to follow. And when they have no *Instructors* to bear up the credit of their old Superstition, they will of course become *Profelytes* to the *Protestant Communion*; for the people are naturally zealous of their *erroneous Traditions*, instill'd into them by their *Priests*, and are of a *Credulous Disposition*; which shews, that the *Authors* of these being once removed, the effects will soon cease, and the people for want of their own, will naturally resolve themselves into the *Reformed Religion*: We know that 'tis a *common principle* of Mankind, to have some Religion or other; and the most ignorant, and barbarous parts

of the Universe, adore the most Contemptible Beings, rather than be divested of a Deity : which mis-application of their Worship, cannot be thought an Argument, that there is no God, as some Atheistically dispute ; but on the contrary, presupposes his Existence to be engraven in such *legible Characters*, in the minds of men, which so powerfully inclines them to so firm an assent to that infallible truth, as to believe every thing to be a God, rather than that there is none at all : They can easily from a continued Chain, and Concatenation of Subordinate Causes, collect one *prime* and *Metaphysical* one ; and tho' they do not understand its Nature, they question not its Existence : Thus the *Academicks*, and *Peripateticks*, *Epicureans*, and *Stoicks* in *Cicero*, ransack'd the great variety of Nature, some making *Fire*, some *water*, some the *Four Elements*, some *Nature* it self to be a God ; but notwithstanding these mis-apprehensions concerning the true Object of Divine Worship, few, or none questioned a Supream and Independent Being, the great Creator of that admirable Fabrick of the World, of so orderly an Harmony, and Contexture in all its parts, as sufficiently denotes the infinite Wisdom, and Sovereign Power of that Grand Architect, who made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is. This being then a perpetual, and unalterable Instinct in Humane Nature, to embrace some kind of *Religion*, or other ; it must needs follow, that the *Drift*, when they are debarr'd from their *false*, must in consequence adhere to the *true*, and *Reformed Worship of God* : From which, as the *Priests* by all the Impious Arts of *Romish Policy*, endeavour to frighten, and discourage them, by loading it with Ignominious Reproaches of Novelty and Falseness, and of certain Damnation attending the Profession of it ; so on the other hand, if these Ver-

min were once removed, who poison and corrupt the minds of the people, tincturing them with strong prejudices, against what can be offered, for their consolation by the *Protestant Clergy*; a more easie access would be obtained for wholsom instruction and advice to enter, and their own *reason*, together with that of their *interest*, would beget in them a sober, and more impartial attention, to the excellent frame, and constitution of our *Religion*, than their present implicit belief of the *dictates* of their pretended *Infallible Church* suffer them to be capable of. All *Protestants* know, that 'tis not possible for Humane Nature to resist those invincible Arguments, which may be urged to them in vindication of our *Church*, and *Religion*, if they will but lay aside their Prejudices, and be so just to their own *reason*, as to give it its true Empire, and Predominancy in a right judgment, and discriminative determination of *truth* from *error*: This (as I have hinted already) the removal of their Priests, (who delude their Votaries like the *Indian Bramins*, or such as waited upon the *Oracles* of old) and a sensible apprehension of the great advantages derived upon themselves, by this strong endearment of their persons unto the *English*, would abundantly facilitate their Conversion: add to this, a true and lively Character of the Horrid Corruptions, and abuses of their Church, of its notorious degeneracy from its Original Institution, of the distinct times, and periods, of its declension from its former purity, into error and superstition, upon what occasions, through what Interests, and by what indirect Principles, sinister Maxims, and secular Policies, they were first formed, and introduced; of the strange Artifices, and subtle inventions, and impious Machinations of their Priests, to retain them either in absolute ignorance, or erroneous apprehensi-

## The APPEAL of the

ons of Religion; locking up from them the Divine Oracles, lest they should there behold the *things that belong unto their Peace, and which are able to make them wise unto Salvation*; and consequently would fully discover to them, the great Deformities, and absurd Fallhoods, the *pia fraudes*, *Romish Intrigues*, and *Unvarratable Equivocations*, so universally practised by that pretended *Catholick Church*: As well as representing how their common Argument of the Novelty of our Religion, may by turning the point to them, be justly retorted upon themselves, in as much that 'tis not we, but they who are the *Novelists*; not we who relinquished their *Communion*, but they who forsook that of the *Ancient Church*: not we, by our separation from their Corruptions, but they by their erroneous Additions to that Faith, which was first delivered unto the Saints: Not we, who reduce all things to the *Primitive Standard*, but they who have debauched the Principles of Christianity, by their Adulterating Innovations: Not we who (like that of the *Jews*) were first an independent *National Church* established in purity of Doctrine, and a wholsome Discipline; but by the Tyranny and Encroachment of this Usurper of an Universal Title, and Jurisdiction, became envasallaged to her heavy Yoak, as the *Jews* did to that of the *Gentiles*, and afterwards broke the Brazen Serpent of their Idolatry, pulled down the Images, and cut down the Groves, and took away the high places of their Superstitious Devotion, and reduced our selves to our antient Platform: but they parallel to these heathenish Violations of the *Jewish Oeconomy*, had introduced such notorious Errors and Corruptions into the Church, as had almost eaten into the Heart and Life of *Christianity*, and *virtually*, if not *formally*, undermined, its very foundation; and when they impertinently demand that irrational



Query, Where was your *Religion* before *Luther*? With how much advantage may men return the Argument by demanding where their's was before the Council of *Trent*? Inasmuch, as ours received its Establishment from our first Conversion to the Faith, from *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Simon Zelotes*, or whoever was the first Preacher of *Christianity* in *Britain*; but theirs, as it now stands, with its new Articles embodied into the Ancient Creed, which they have made equally necessary to Salvation with the prime Principles of *Religion*, is of no longer date, than that Council, as the Decisions of it do abundantly evince.

Next to an Impartial unfolding to them the apparent weakness of this pretended Argument of the Novelty of our *Religion*, the removing of another popular objection, of our granting a possibility of Salvation to men of their Church, and their denying it to those of ours, will be of great use to bring them to our *Communion*: and how easie is it, to represent to them, the Fallacy of this plain and absolute Sophism? for, do we grant a possibility of Salvation to all in their Churches equally, and without any restriction, as the *Priests* contend for; and would make their rude, and ignorant Votaries believe? Or, is it only in cases of invincible ignorance, and that but a bare possibility; whereas we affirm a certainty of Salvation in our own Church; and can any rational man be supposed to be encouraged by this Concession (if it be any) either to persevere in a *Religion* which under the most favourable Qualifications that can be imagined, hath but a bare possibility of Salvation, attending it, and that to very few persons; or to espouse that, in preference to another, that hath all the warrantable grounds of a firm certainty, and the most convincing assurance that *Religion* can be capable of?

Were not this to forsake a secure Ship, and in a Storm to put to Sea upon a Plank? or like an unskilful Pilot, that upon his approach to an Haven, should be told, that there are two different ways that lead to the Port; the one direct, and safe, the other circular, and full of dangerous Rocks and Shelves, and yet should make choice of the latter, because there is a bare possibility of escaping from Shipwrack. Again, granting a bare possibility of Salvation under the aforesaid limitations, is only an effect of Charity in us, and not of the least approbation of their *Religion*; and herein we imitate the Holy Apostle St. Paul, who as he gave an higher Encomium to this, than to any other Divine Grace: so also acknowledged, that such as built Hay and Stubble upon the Foundation of Christianity, should be saved so as by fire, that is, with difficulty; whereas such as did so, denied the possibility of St. Paul's Salvation, as the Church of Rome does to us. To this we may add the practice of the Orthodox towards the *Donatists*, who were so favourable in their Constructions of them, although *Hereticks*, as not to exclude them from the aforesaid possibility; but on the contrary, the *Donatists* like the Church of Rome, confined Salvation to themselves, and denied it to the Orthodox. But I shall not insist longer upon these Points, referring the *Inquisitive Reader*, for his more ample satisfaction, to Archbishop Land's Book against *Fisher* the Jesuit, and to the Learned Dean of St. Paul's his Vindication of the said Book: But though the brevity designed, hinders me from protracting this Discourse upon this Subject, yet not from making a necessary Apology for what I have said already. Some may perhaps be so Censorious, as to suppose the foregoing Arguments to be designed by the Author, as a Model, or Platform for others to imitate,

or transcribe in the reduction of the *Irish Papists* to our Church; and therefore to take off that imputation, I think fit in my own defence to make the following Affeuration, That my sole intention in it, proceeded from a pure Zeal to the *Reformed Religion*, and a desire to shew how easie it might be to work upon the *Vulgar Romanists*, by these or the like Motives; if their Priests were once removed from them: This, as it would certainly be a very great happiness to the Nation in general, by making it of one interest by being of one *Religion*; so would it be an act of Transcendent Charity to the Souls of these poor Wretches, who are miserably seduced by the Impious Delusions of their Priests; and with all good men ought to be the principal inducement of prohibiting them a free exercise of their innovated and depraved Superstition, which cannot be effectually accomplished without expelling their Priests out of the Kingdom: And if the *British* could be so happy as to live, to reap the benefit of the reduction of the *Irish* to their Church, it might reasonably be hoped, that this present would put a period to all future *Rebellions* in that Kingdom. To which I may add a Passage of a Country Fellow, who passing through the *Rubbridge* of *London*, after the *Fire*; and seeing a Crowd of people, came up to them, and enquired what was the matter? some answered, that they were waiting for the Committee to settle the Foundations; and one said, they had resolved the Buildings should be on the old Foundation; to which the Country Fellow with an Oath replied, It had been as good then, that *London* had never been burnt. I leave others to make the Application, and shall only say with Lamentation, that what that poor Fellow spoke ignorantly, is verified of the *Protestants of Ireland*, who have no other

Expectations to bear up their Spirits in this Deluge of misery, now violently descended upon them; but, that as the Blood of the Martyrs in the *Primitive Church* increased their Numbers; so this may lay a Foundation, by shewing the indispenfable necessity of putting the *Irish* past the hopes of repeating the like *Tragedy*, and that nothing but such a method can possibly repair the Ruines of that Kingdom.

I have hitherto been shewing the Miferies and Calamities that have attended the *Britisb* Plantations, by the frequent Rebellions of the *Irish*.

And then the Justice of making some Reparation at this time to the *Protestants*, out of the *Estates* of some of the most notorious Leaders of this *Rebellion*.

And have also shewn the great advantage such *Justice* would derive upon that Kingdom at this time, in new planting it.

I am in the next Remarks to observe, how much it imports *England* to improve this opportunity, which the *Enemies* of their publick Peace and Tranquillity have put into their hands: and this is a subject of so copious a nature, as might claim a Treatise by it self; but my design being to awaken, not direct the Wisdom and Conduct of *England*, I shall only remind them of the Charge and Expence of *English Blood* that poor distressed Kingdom has already cost, and then lay before them the Advantage that would accrew to *England*, if *Ireland* was once reinstated and settled in *Protestant* hands. That the loss of *Men* is the greatest misfortune and severest punishment that can arrive to, and be inflicted upon a Nation, is confirmed by the Judgment of an infallible *Author*. For when the *Prophet* was sent to *David*, to offer three things to his choice; not

not one of them consisted in depriving him of *Treasure*, *Herd*s, or *Possessions*, but every punishment was, the loss of *Men*.

It is not possible to give an exact account of the numbers, that *Caldron* of *England*, as *Ireland* may be truly call'd, has swallowed up in five hundred years; but according to the best computation that can be made, there has been by *War*, *Famine*, and *Murders*, of the *British*, more than *Twenty Hundred Thousand Souls*. By the several accounts in *History*, of the Supplies sent from *England* in the *Rebellions* there, the computation is made too large here to mention the particulars, but may reasonably be believed, if we recount the several *Rebellions* in *Five hundred years*, when there was never *Twenty years* free; and in the *last*, where some account was taken, it was found to exceed *Two Hundred Thousand*, and that after not *Twenty years* of perfect Peace; for although the Kingdom was for the greatest part quiet, during the Reign of King *James*, and some of that of King *Charles* the First, yet some places of it were constantly involv'd in Trouble.

It would hardly be believ'd in Story, since there is no precedent, That a *Kingdom* so frequently conquer'd, and so horribly outrageous in their *Rebellions* and inhumane *Massacres*, should still be put into the hands of the *Rebels*, that are implacable in their hatred to their Conquerors; but it has rather been an Infatuation than Mercy in the *English*, to retain such *Serpents* in their Bosoms, which nothing can excuse, but that it is a Judgment of God to blind the Eyes of his People in this matter, that so these *Philistines* may be left to punish the Sins of these Nations, who have reason to repent for their past Omissions, and to pray that they may

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never more be incident to the same Errour and Miscarriage, lest the Message of the Prophet *Ahab* be ours, *Because thou hast let go out of thy hand, &c.*

After the loss of that which comprehends it, 'twill appear vain to mention the Treasure this *Kingdom* has buried there, but it is an additional aggravation to our other Misfortunes, and had half of it been expended in other Adventures, it might have been return'd with greater advantage than the whole *Kingdom* of *Ireland* has hitherto been worth: Not but that it is obvious to every eye, that *Europe* cannot shew such a spot of Ground, that may deserve the Motto *Trajan* gave to his Money in reference to *Dacia*, which applying to this fertile Island, we may thus express, *Hibernia Abundantia*.

Having thus hinted at the Losses which *England* has sustain'd by Indulgence given to the *Irish*, I now come to discuss those Advantages which would accrue to this Kingdom, if regard were had in the next Settlement to the *British Protestants*, that have their Dependence in that Country.

And not to trouble the Reader with what he may see put forth, by a more accurate Pen, in that ingenious Discourse of the *Interest of England in the preservation of Ireland*: I shall only name some few things by him omitted, and first shew, That *Ireland* might be made a Nursery for Seamen to *England*; which upon too frequent experience is found to be so much wanting, that upon every *Marine War*, the Merchants Ships are forc'd to stay at home, for want of Men to supply them; so that it may be said, (though a Paradox) that by employing



playing the hands of War, we destroy the *Sinews* of it, *Money*, by our *Embargoes* upon Trade.

Now, since *England* justly challenges the *Priority* in Trade, and will by no means admit *Ireland* to touch the forbidden Fruit, their Navigation, this is the way not only to keep them from transgressing, but also at the same time to employ them in being Fosterers (to use their own Language) to your Navigation, and that is, by keeping them employed in *Fishings*. That Island seeming to be set in the Sea, as a Bait for the Inhabitants of the Deep, and might very well imploy Twenty thousand in that Service, which, besides the immense Treasure the product of their Labours would bring to *England*, this other signal advantage would accrew from it, (*viz.*) The having so many men at a call, and in actual readiness for the Service of *England*, since they will never be engag'd in Voyages abroad.

And as *Ireland* may be a *Nursery* for Seamen, so is it a *Forrest*, out of which the wooden, yet invincible, Walls of *England* may be repaired, the Timber of *Ireland* being in some respects, and for divers uses, more proper for building Ships, than the freer and clean Oak of *England*. Nor must we end here, but as we have begun with the Timber for Shipping and brought them on the *Stocks*, so must not leave them until flown from their Nests, with their Wings spread at Sea; it being practicable to build, rigg, and even from the *Vane* at the *Topmast-head* to the *Bolt* in the *Keel*, to set out a Ship to Sea from *Ireland*. I have seen one of two hundred Tunn so fitted, excepting the Sails; which might easily be had, if encouragement were given.

*Iron* is not wanting in that *Kingdom*; *Flax* for *white Occum* there is in great abundance; as also

*Hemp* for *Cordage*, which is made there. And as before I mentioned the encrease of *Seamen*, so in this I might urge the addition of *Ship-Carpenters*.

I might enumerate, even to a Volume, the particular instances wherein *Ireland* may be of use to *England*, but I shall name for all but two more, that of *Iron* and the *Linnen Manufactory*, both of which drain out of *England* more than all the foreign Commodities imported into it besides: This, without a serious consideration of the Assertion, seems an extravagant Notion; I must therefore, before I pass from it, give some Reasons for my opinion, which be pleas'd to take in the following particulars.

*First*, The Consumption of *Linnen* is of greater value than *Silks*, or any foreign *Manufactory*; for, not the poorest *Beggar* at the Door, but bears a proportion in that Commodity.

*Secondly*, The Importation of *Linnen* admits of no Improvement nor Exportation to any part of the World, but our own Plantations; but *Silks*, I mean raw *Grogreen*, *Tarn*, *Cypress*, *Cotton*, and many foreign Commodities are in *England* improved and manufactured; so that upon Exportation they fetch into the Kingdom a great part of what was taken out, by the Importation; as is found by experience. The *East-India* Trade doth, notwithstanding the *Gold* and *Silver* carried thither, for purchasing Commodities, that after brought home by Exportation, bring in more ready Money than was sent out for their purchase.

*Linnen* and *Iron* are the Commodities, I mean those of *Swedeland* and the *East Sea*, which take from us the least of our Native Commodities, and by that means draw away so much Money, that the Computation being made, has been found to be the loss of *England* in some Millions by that Trade, of *Linnen*, &c. of *France*.

I presume, by these few Instances already nam'd, it will be allowed, That *Linnen* and *Iron* carry away the greatest part of the Coin and Treasure of the *Kingdom*; for Bills of *Exchange* are the same thing, and allowed so by men of Commerce.

Now, if *Ireland*, be capable of such a management, as to furnish the same Commodities, this will save the loss of so much Treasure, as yearly goes out of *England* into foreign parts to purchase them.

*Experience* is an undeniable Evidence in this case, and that which may be done in part, is not difficult to effect in the whole.

There was in the year before *Tyrconnel's* accession to the Government of *Ireland*, transported out of that *Kingdom* of *Iron-pots*, *Bar-Iron*, &c. to the value of more then Twenty Thousand pounds, and the *Linnen Manufactory* was in so hopeful a Progress, that of it a very considerable value was shipped into *England*, and afforded cheaper than it can possibly be brought from any parts of the World.

Now, if all that has been discours'd upon this Subject be apparently practicable, and that so vast an improvement may be made of *Ireland*, for the advantage of *England*, and that nothing hath been  
such

such an insuperable Obstacle and Impediment unto it, as the great Indulgence given to the *Irish*, and consequently the fresh instances of Rebellion in that *Kingdom*, as deriv'd from the former: It seems then extremely rational to remove those publick Discouragements, by laying a Foundation of future Safety, and of a firm and lasting Peace in that *Kingdom*, which would invite Inhabitants thither, that might secure that Nation to the CROWN of *ENGLAND*, with less Cost and greater Returns for that Charge now expended upon it.

I shall close this Discourse with a succinct account of what advantage such a Settlement would bring to His present Majesty, and his Successors; which I shall endeavour to shew in the following particulars.

*First*, As to the encrease of Subjects, We find that King *David*, (who was a man after God's own Heart) ambition'd nothing beyond the numbers of his People; and it had not been his Sin, but Glory, to have encreased them; but his fault consisted in this. (*viz.*) The numbring of them, of which God had made a solemn Promise to the *Patriarch Abraham*, That they should be as the Stars in Heaven, that cannot be numbred. So said the Angel, *Look and see if thou canst count them*. This may be inverted in the *Story of Ireland*, where the numbers slain are harder to be reckoned than are those of the living.

But if there was thought to be near *Two millions* of Souls in *Ireland*, at the beginning of this last Ravage, we may reasonably account it possible,

ble, for there to have been five times that number, if Acts of Violence had not put a period to more mens Lives, than that of natural Death : And in proportion to this, With what vast incredible multitudes of men (may we reasonably compute) would these Kingdoms have abounded, and consequently how rich and invincible ?

*Secondly*, How would it contribute to the eternal Fame, and immortalize the Memory of our Gracious and Victorious *King*, to all Posterity, that under his most Auspicious Reign such an happy Model, and frame of Government should be established, as none of his *Predecessors* could ever attain unto ? Which would verifie that of our great and miraculous Deliverer, which was said of *David*, *And he shall be as the light of the morning when the Sun ariseth.*

*Thirdly*, This would infinitely augment their Majesties Revenue ; as to which, that *Ireland* may be made considerable, is apparent from the several Gradations already made in that *Kingdom*.

In all the *Kings* and *Queens* Reigns precedent to Queen *Elizabeth*, we hear of nothing, but of sending Money into that *Kingdom*.

In her Reign there was something raised in the *Kingdom*, conducing to its support, which was in proportion to the Forfeitures and Abatements of the *Irish Interest*, for that nothing improved the Receipts but the lessening of them, which made room for more industrious people.

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In the Reign of King *James* the First, there was a farther Enlargement and Encouragement given to the *British Protestants*, and accordingly the Revenue encreased from *thirty five thousand pounds* to *fifty*.

King *Charles* the First made some addition to the *British* Settlement, and by the encouragement of Grants, to strengthen defective Titles, advanc'd the Revenue to *eighty thousand pounds*, and so incredibly did that Country grow and improve under the hands and industrious management of the *British*, that where Money was formerly, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, debased twenty pound per Cent, beyond the intrinsic value of *Sterling*, it came to that pass, that Gold became a Burthen to the Kingdom, and men in their Bargains made exceptions of it in Payment, but the *bloody Massacre* in *Forty One* soon put an end to that Flood of Prosperity.

In the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, upon his *Restoration*, the *Protestants* lay under some discouragements, occasioned from their Fears of a *Rising* from the indulgence given to the *Natives*, procured by the Interest of the late King *James*, then Duke of *York*, whose Darlings and especial Favourites they were, by means of whose interested regard for them, many (by his powerful solicitations to his Brother) were restored to their Estates, that were Capital in their Crimes. This gave just occasion of Jealousie to the *British Protestants*, that most of their Enemies would meet with



with the like success; and during this Inundation, the *Revenue of Customs and In-land Excise*, dwindled to less than 70000 pounds *per Annum*: But upon the King's better information of the settlement of *Ireland*, great Encouragements were revived to the *Protestants*, and then in one year commencing in 1664, the *Customs*, and *import Excise*, that upon an exact account made the precedent year but 34000 pounds clear, made 86000: So great an alteration did the promised security of the *Protestant Interest*, effect in that Kingdom: And in the same proportion did the *In-land Excise* advance from 36000 to 80000 pounds, and from that time forward, until the Accession of the late *King* to the Throne, did the Revenue rise, and amount to 140000 in the Import Duty, and above 100000 pounds, in the *In-land Excise*: But from the Reign of the late *King*, it daily declined; a plain Demonstration that the Revenue of *Ireland*, like the Army of the *Israelites*, prevailed no longer than the hand of *Moses* was lift up in favour of them.

Now by the same rule of proportion, that the *Irish* of *Ireland* flourisheth with the growth and increase of the *Protestants*, may his present Majesty expect the Augmentation of his Revenue, as that Kingdom shall be established in the hands of the *British*; and were it proper in this Discourse to descend to Particulars, it would be no difficult province to evince, how possible it is for that Kingdom to be improved to double the value it ever yet made to the Crown.

I have now come to a period of my design, and having given a true, and (I hope) Impartial Account of the Nature, Temper, and Constitution of that hitherto unhappy Kingdom, together with a

description of the proper Causes of those dismal Revolutions, and Vicissitudes, which have attended the fortune of its *English Inhabitants*: I shall in few words Apologize for this Narrative, which I do believe to be the sense of the *British Protestants*, whose lot is fallen in that *Akeldama*.

We do not then presume, to anticipate the King's unlimited Clemency to all his Subjects, or desire that it should be wholly engrossed by such as are *Protestants*, much less to offer Reasons for the utter extirpation of the Natives; but rather wish their *Reformation* than *Confusion*; and to the end that they may become our Brethren, as well in *Religion*, as Temporal Interest, do humbly offer these *Remarks*, by which (we presume) it doth evidently appear, that without the total remove of their Pestilent Deluders, the Priests, and extirpating the most considerable of their Leaders, and men of Estates, that Kingdom can never be established upon the firm *basis* of a durable and lasting peace: but on the contrary be exposed to greater danger and distress, than it has ever been subject to, since the Conquest: For, besides the Foreign pretensions that were never so plausible, as now, the *English* will not be encouraged to plant so readily there, as they have formerly done, by which the *Irish* will soon fill the Kingdom; and by their Prodigious increase in their numbers, will improve proportionably in their strength, which with assistance from the *French*, will render them as well invincible in their own thoughts, as really more formidable than ever to the *British*, and so bring this rising *Phoenix* to *ashes*, out of which it can never be expected to revive.

But all our hopes (under the Divine disposer of all things here below) are wrapt up in His present Majesty's

jesty's great Wisdom and Conduct, in which, without the least reluctance we chearfully, and most humbly, acquiesce; and agreeably to the Title, and patient submission of our *Deppitioshetb*, make our devout and hearty Prayers, for the Long and Happy *Reign* of their Majesties.

For we were all but *Dead Men*, when the *Lord our King* came for our *Deliverance*; and if it be his Will, let the *Ziba's* of that Kingdom take all, so that we may live in Peace, under the benign influence of his Government, who hath saved us from the *Jaws* of that *Roman Beast*, which was open to devour not only us, but these *Nations*, and hath so seasonably preserved us from sinking into an Abyss of Destruction, at a time, when there seemed none to help, or to deliver.

And now that powerful, and all-wise Providence, which has so eminently appeared in the preservation of this great Instrument and Protector of the *Reformed Religion*, give him a wise, and understanding Heart to govern this People, whom he hath sent to save, in such a Miraculous, and extraordinary manner: And bless their Majesties with a Long, Peaceable, and Prosperous *Reign* in this World, and Crown them with Eternal Glory, and Immortality in the next. *Amen.*

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